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614 Bejkári

to

615 Petároague

denominate with the term Pajké-Ró

Uejári Téroague

Majároague

denominates with the term Yeé Párame from

Utiwiague

to

Aúwuewague

Majároague

denominates with the term Nijjá

Uejári Téroague

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SUMMARY:

The most notable characteristic of Tukana /Tucano/ society is that all its members form one great family by means of the fictitious extension of kinship ties, creating patrilineal sibs that have the character of castes. In this sense, the /164/ members of the superior castes denominate the inferior castes Nijjá or Pajké-Ró, while the members of the inferior sibs denominate the members of the superior sibs with the terms Mamí or Yeé Párame. It is to be noted that the sibs that denominate the inferior sibs Pajké-Ró denominate one another among themselves with the terms Mamí or Nijjá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes, and that the sibs that denominate superior sibs Yeé Párame denominate one another among themselves Mamí or Nijjá, according to whether they are superior or inferior castes.

One consequence of the kinship system typical of Tukana culture is the tribal exogamy, since it is considered incestuous if two Tukano individuals of different sex marry. The preferred canon of marriage is that of cross cousins with interchange of brother with sister. The institution of polygyny exists, but it is disappearing among the component sibs of the Yepá Bajuári Majjá phratry, which is the phratry most acculturated to the creole-Colombian culture. The levirate is also found, but this institution seems to be voluntary. Descent is patrilineal and residence is patrilocal, thus forming extended patrilineal families.

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Because of the high concept that they have of the Branco /White/, without excluding the influence of their magic beliefs and because of the gifts that they can /386/ give them, the women easily give in to the desires of the civilized and are even proud of having children by them (113).

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113: In Urubucua and Carurú-cachoeira, river Uaupés, two women told us, in conversation, with some pride, that they were not daughters of Indians, but of civilized. We observe here that for the purpose of social classification and of future marriage they were regarded as belonging to the tribe to which their mother belonged. For example, Antônia of Carurú-cachoeira, who died in 1956, daughter of a man from Pará and considered Taryana, later married a Wanana.

Unfortunately among the civilized who reach those regions there are adventurers without any moral concepts, without an established family (114)

114: Not infrequently their unions with Indian women are of some duration, that is, all the time that they remain among the Indians, perhaps in public service, or they are casual relations.

or with a regular family from whom they have been away for a long time.

In the rite of puberty initiation, the maiden not only has theoretical instruction on her matrimonial duties, but also immediate practice with the pajé or Kōmū and with another young man of her choice or of her own father's choice (according to tribe).

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Such a custom is imposed by the desire of the tribe to perpetuate itself.

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/410/ The ambillian marriage is not known, that is, it is not the young man who comes to live in the house of the in-laws; but it is the young woman who, through marriage, leaves hers and comes to constitute a family in another tribe.

They desire, then, that a woman from another tribe come to their povoado in order to constitute a new family. The exchange, it seems to us, is not equivalent to a depreciation of the woman or reducing her to the condition of an article of trade. It is a measure of precaution, so that the group will not become extinct, but, on the contrary, the men always remain united, and the tribal traditions and the cordial relations among its components are kept alive.

From this concept and practice some consequences follow:

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1a. -- The first one is that in fact the so-called preferential marriage is in force among them. The exchanges not only establish social relations between two malocas, but, as we shall see later, they conceive kinship as bilateral. But not only the maternal cousins in the strict sense (that is, the nephews and nieces of the mother herself), but all those of their generation of the maternal Gens (IV -- 2, a (2)) are called brides and bridegrooms /Port. noivos/. Baxsú-kāra (those who are destined for marriage with us).

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Let us concretize an example: the Tukano from Parí-cachoeira customarily seek their wives among the Tuyuka of the headwaters of the Tiquié. Then, for the young people of Parí-cachoeira, brides and bridegrooms, or Baxsúkāra, are all the Tuyuka of the younger generation of the maternal povoado. Or, more exactly, all the young persons of the maternal Gens are their brides and bridegrooms, -- because to each povoado ordinarily corresponds a different Gens, -- and among themselves they call each other "brothers" /Port. irmãos, brothers, brothers and sisters/ (Mamf or Axkabf, see VIII -- 1, c).

As a rule, it is a boy or a girl among the Baxsúkāra who will be the Mā-ra-pō nyákho or the Nō'mō nyakho.

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584 will be promised in marriage to another family. In practice, they
836 will be bride and bridegroom, with the right to relations between
them (with precautions, however, in order not to have children),
perhaps for many years and with a great difference in age between
the ones being married. And the child, once it has barely reached
the age of reason, knows that it must marry such a person.

584 4th. A fourth one is that a widowed father will give up a
587 daughter in order to arrange for a second wife for himself, although
with a great disproportion between their ages, before he procures
one for his son.

587 5th. A fifth one is that a woman, becoming a widow, can
pass to her brother-in-law as a wife, if he is a widower or a bache-
lor and without a bride, from which his father has an obligation
to give a woman to such a family, in exchange for the other one
whom he obtained from there. Although the law of the levirate
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12. That is, the duty of an individual to marry
the sister-in-law who was widowed without
children, in order to resuscitate the lineage of
his late brother, a custom that was in force among
the Jews.

does not exist among our Indians, we thus have its practice.

582 6th. A sixth one is that, from this exchange of women of a
611 tribe A with those of tribe B, since the children are regarded as
belonging to the father's tribe, cousins can marry each other. For
example, of two pairs of brothers and sisters, M and N from tribe
A and P and Q from tribe B, the woman M married P, whose sister
Q was joined in matrimony to N. The children of these two couples
are, obviously, "cousins-german" or "cousins in the first degree."
Nevertheless the children of P belong to the tribe B, and those of
N, to the tribe A. They consider themselves reciprocally
Baxsúkŕa, and they may marry each other.

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595 but a woman could never have several husbands. In the legends there are examples not only of polygamy, but also of polyandry.

It is true that, having procreation as its purpose, the marriage is not considered perfect until after the conception of the first child. From the time of the first signs of pregnancy the marriage was established.

595 If after two or three years of living together the woman has
842 not given birth to a child, the husband will consider her the victim of the malefice of sterility (22)

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22. It seems that there is no possibility of rehabilitation for the woman, that is, marriage to another man, although a Tukano man, Mário Chaves by name, in answer to our question, affirmed the possibility of new nuptials for the woman regarded as sterile.

and will look for another wife.

Ordinarily, however, the woman considered sterile prefers to remain with her husband. All the interests of the latter lead him to keep her, even though he has already contracted a second marriage. We are thus confronted with a polygamy, not by right, but de facto. Nor does such an event seem to cause surprise (23).

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23. These events are known nowadays (1947) in Taracua and Urubucua.

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The fact that they regard the children as belonging to the father's tribe seems to reveal, as in other nations, the concept that all the generative capacity belongs exclusively to the father. Nevertheless, the inability to procreate will always be attributed to the mother, never to the men.

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462 conversation with other men for long hours (26).

[517] 26. At other times she might be gaily conversing while the man is working.

611 She is a foreigner, without any right over her children. They
736 belong to the husband, or rather to the tribe of the husband. If by chance she becomes a widow, she may continue to live in the maloca, and she will ordinarily do so, especially if she is aged and cannot expect another marriage. Or she will return to her tribe, without, however, taking the children with her. With the hypothesis that her husband had a separate house or one in the vicinity of another tribe, the relatives from the husband's tribe will come to take the orphans to their own maloca. If any of the orphans are still /420/ babies at the breast, perhaps they will await until the child can dispense with maternal care, and then they will irrevocably take them away.

587 When it was a matter of her marrying, an exchange or indemnification was negotiated, without her being consulted. Upon establishing her new home, she had the customary test of a beating, and perhaps, due to the bad character of the husband, many others might follow, against which she could never react. According to the tribal customs, she will never eat with the husband; she
264 takes out her portion and it is only after he and his friends and
593 guests are satisfied and leave the place that she will take her food.

462 All this causes surprise, especially if we observe the importance of her "atelier"; that is, it is she who performs the tasks necessary for life: she plants the clearing, works with the mandioca, which constitutes the indispensable daily dish, weaves the hammocks for sleeping, makes the vessels for water, prepares the caxiris and the cooking.

593 We leave, Deo volente, for a monograph the study of the indications of a matriarchalist civilization among the Uaupesina tribes. For now we shall say, with the students who have

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462 man manufactured weapons and implements for one thing and
593 another: canoe, baskets, nets, bows, arrows, traps, etc. In the
clearing there fell to him the preliminary work of choosing the
spot and felling the trees. The defense of the clearing against
the harmful animals or other persons is also his duty. Of the
domestic utensils he is the one who manufactures the tipiti /manioc
press/, hampers, and strainers for the treatment of the mandioca,
as well as the little seats. As for the diet, he is the one who
supplies the game, fish, and who brings the fruits from the forest
for the caxirís. And he has prepared the ornaments and the musical
instruments for the social and religious manifestations. Recogniz-
ing, then, the great weight of work that falls upon the woman for
the maintenance of the family, we think that it alone does not
demonstrate an inferior position for the woman.

593 The Pôáperi, in itself, is not a depreciation of the woman,
[583] as we have already noted. The nuptial gifts, more than the dowry
of the European customs, properly represent a valorization of the
wife. She is really considered greatly useful, not only under the
aspect of maternity, so desired and appreciated, since the Indian
wishes to have children, but even in the economic one.

[551] As for not knowing the wife's name and the ways of referring
to her, they do not seem to be indicators of inferiority. She came
from another tribe and another language, perhaps a strange name.
In any case they are not accustomed to calling anyone by name,
as we shall see. In general, in referring to the wife, the husband
uses the expression: -- "The mother of N" and says the name of
the first-born child, and this seems to be an affectionate asso-
ciation. She will also say of the husband: "The father of N,"
which, on her lips, has a particular meaning, as affirmation that
it is a legitimate child.

• [611] As for the children, this affirmation is of value: the children
belong to the tribe more than to the parents. Both the wife and
the husband exert little authority over the children, since they are
raised with great autonomy. Perhaps she has an ascendancy even
greater than the husband, because, at least when they are small,
they are exclusively in her care, and they go so far as to learn
her idiom.

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Even already grown, the daughters are always at her side, helping her in the tasks.

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One more proof of a certain equality with the husband, although the children belong to his tribe (27).

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27. The European custom presents something similar: the woman, upon marrying, loses her family name, in order to adopt that of her husband, whose name will also be that of all their children.

is that bilateral kinship is established, as the kinship nomenclature proves (28).

28. The nomenclature can be characterized as bilateral, and, therefore, kinship as well. As a matter of fact, to certain terms of consanguinity correspond others of affinity.

This fact is all the more remarkable if we consider the spirit of these nations, and how the parents-in-law, the brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, etc., among whom there are friendly relations, are necessarily from another tribe.

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It is recognized that the wife has the right of ownership of her trousseau and what she makes; and such a right has started having an ever larger field in which to be exercised. Nowadays it is common to see the woman selling to the civilized the flour that she made and buying for herself fabrics, thread, buttons, needles, scissors, and even objects that we would call luxuries, ribbons, hairpins, hairdressing, etc.

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The woman can even exercise the functions of Tuxaua (29).

29. Upon presenting such a question to the natives, some answered yes, and others, more numerous, no. Since there are no written laws, they can only deduce from the facts. Now

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without the cutting of the hair, however. At the following menstruation, Mahēka-nlé, the practices of the puberty initiation are done again. This time, however, there is no segregation of the young woman, and all the acts take place with more solemnity, in view of everybody.

c) Nomenclature of kinship and of affinity.

1) Kinship.

Among the tribes of the Uaupés it is generation /Port. geração, generation, procreation, descent/ that establishes true kinship. They recognize it not only between ancestors (nōx-kākōra, grandparents) and descendants (marī-bero-maxsā), but also in the collateral line. And kinship imposes two very grave obligations, that is, that of defense (vengeance) and that of matrimonial interdiction.

The components of the same tribe, although born and living in different malocas or povoados, are considered axkawerēra (86).

86. The term axkawerēra is beginning to be extended also to the individuals of another tribe connected by ties of affinity and of blood.

a term translated by those who speak Portuguese by "parentes" /relatives/ and sometimes also by "irmãos" /brothers/. For this reason we are of the opinion (VIII-2, a) that initially the local group coincided with the family.

Those of another tribe, even those connected by some degree of affinity, or consanguinity, and also the civilized are all axpēra (87).

87. Axpēra, properly speaking, is the plural of the pronoun and adjective axpf (masculine) and axpego, feminine, other.

that is strangers, foreigners.

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601 their own father) and are called by them "mē-kō," nephew. And those of their grandparents' generation they call grandfather, "pax-kō-ro," and are called by them "paramf," grandchildren, or max-kō-kō, "child-of-my-child."

/448/ As for the "brothers," if they are such in the strict sense (that is, children of the same father and the same mother), the older one is called mamf (they translate it "bigger brother") and the younger, axkabf ("smaller brother").

When it is a matter of "tribal brother," that is, of the individuals of the tribe who make up one and the same generation or layer, the terms mamf and axkabf are independent of age; they are, instead, a function of the group. That is, all those of the more important "Gens" (see VIII-3, c /see VIII-3, d/) (we use the Latin term "gens" in order to designate the subdivisions of the tribe or sib of the American Ethnologists), whatever their ages might be, are mamf; all those of the inferior "Gens" are axkabf. That is, an entire "Gens" (without taking into account the ages of its members) is called mamf or axkabf of another.

Let us imagine the case of the individual X, who has five children, successively A, B, C, D, E; of which B, C, D are of the male sex, and A, E of the female sex. It is to be observed: 1st, that five is actually the average number of children, according to our "anthropometric file cards"; 2nd, that they wish to have children of both sexes, and that an older daughter is a valuable helper of the mother in raising the younger children. The older daughter A will be mamyó of all the brothers and sisters; the younger daughter E will likewise be axkabyó of all. If we consider the son C, he will be mamf of D and E and axkabf of A and B.

Let us further suppose that the brothers B, C, D marry (90)

90. A and E will obligatorily marry husbands, baxsukō, from another tribe; their children, however, do not belong to tribe X (grandfather), but to that of the father himself. The children of A and E

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614 came to be known as *Bwübeküdjo* (*Bwü* the Ancient). The *Byari-Hehénewa* took him captive. Sometime later, the *Hehénewa*, coming to visit their kin, determined to rescue the boy. They did so, killing off the *Byari-Hehénewa* who were holding him. They released *Bwübeküdjo*, giving him two *Borówa* (*Macú*) women as wives. The *Borówa* were then servants of the *Hehénewa*. The *Macú* women bore *Bwübeküdjo* ten children. It was from the males of this sibling group that the *Bahúkiwa* sib was reconstituted.

614 This concession of kinship alliance with the *Macú* stigmatizes the *Bahúkiwa* as an inferior sib even though the descent is still in the male line. Normally, *Cubeco* used *Borówa* women sexually but did not marry them. The *Bahúkiwa* do not concede that they are *Borówa*. 648
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• [611] And I learned early in my stay among them that nothing was more offensive than to even hint that someone was *Borówa*. The *Hehénewa* had told Koch-Grünberg that the *Bahúkiwa* were *Borówa* who had assimilated themselves to the *Cubeco* and were still to be regarded with contempt (1909, II, 136). No *Hehénewa* made this observation to me, but possibly out of courtesy since I was living with the *Bahúkiwa*.

614 The origin of the *Bahúkübwanwü*, a subsib of the *Bahúkiwa*, is also attributed to an act of kindness by a fellow sib, in this case at the hands of the second-ranking *Ainbwawü*. In the course of an attack on them, all but one *Bahúkiwa* girl were killed. She was sur-
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611 cored by the *Ainbwawü*, among whom she lived until she married. The narrator claimed that no one knew whom she had married, a lapse of information of utmost importance, since the point of the story is that despite patriliney a woman can also re-establish a sib. She bore eight children and they and their descendants took the name of *Bahúkübwanwü*. Descent then reverted to patriliney.

615 The *Cubeco* view of the phratry, as revealed by the traditions, is of a grouping of essentially autonomous sibs into a loose fraternity that takes its sanction not from descent from a common ancestor but emergence from a common place. The genealogical relationship determines sib identity, but it is geography that determines phratric identity. The principal idea that is expressed is that the closer the sibs were spatially at the time of emergence the closer should be their present fraternal bonds. Thus, the traditions draw fine distinctions between emergence from the very same crevice on the rocks, from the same rapids, and from the same river. Unfortunately for our interest in reconstructing tribal history, the traditions lack consistency. 614
174 This inconsistency reflects perhaps the ethnic heterogeneity of the region, which, together with the lack of a central source for tradition,

- 191 area]. "Semicommunication" (Haugen 1966a) based on a partial knowledge of a language that is closely related to one already known may also occur.

MULTILINGUALISM

- [611] Because descent is patrilineal in the North-west Amazon and residence is normatively and [582] predominantly patrilocal, an individual belongs to his (or her) father's tribe, and to his father's linguistic group, which is also his own. Because of exogamy, his mother always represents a different tribe—tribal membership does not change for her upon marriage—and a different linguistic group. A woman invariably uses the language of the longhouse—her husband's language—when talking directly with her children. But she is usually not the only woman from her tribe in a longhouse. In a longhouse of any size there are usually several women of her tribe, as well as groups of other women from other tribes; and during the course of a day, these several groups of women usually find occasion to converse with each other in their own original languages.

- [484] In addition to these multilingual contacts in the longhouse, others occur as a result of [583] considerable traveling. Youths travel to investigate and evaluate available brides. A prospective bridegroom, if he does not know it already, learns his prospective wife's language from his prospective mother-in-law. Families also travel to visit relatives and affines. And there is travel for the sheer sake of travel.

- [582] A man's *mother's* language may be quite important because of the preferential marriage system. There is a preference, though not an obligation, to marry his cross-cousin, particularly his mother's brother's daughter, [593] real or classificatory. (The kinship system is of Iroquoian type [Fulop 1955].) She will, of course, be of his *mother's* tribe and speak his *mother's* language. Therefore there is an added cultural incentive for a man to know his mother's language. If he has little opportunity to learn it—if she, for instance, is the only one of her tribe in the longhouse, and her tribe lives at a distance—his mother, nevertheless, will teach him lists of words in her language and how to say various things in it. Children are usually bilingual in both their father's and their mother's languages, but commonly use the former.

A child is frequently exposed to the other